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The Sons of Turimpi

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AS HAS been pointed out by a number of critics, most recently by Lindesmith and Strauss (1950), the personality and culture movement in anthropology involves, as one of its cardinal principles, the assertion that in primitive societies there is an essential sameness in the personality of the natives, or at least a very limited range of variation. The favorite argument to prove this view seems to be that since a culture "molds" all the individuals born into it into pretty much the same "basic" psychological shape, therefore the simpler the culture, the more homogeneous in personality are the individuals who use it. The critics have challenged this view largely on the ground that it has not been empirically demonstrated by any anthropologist. It may well be that far from being demonstrated by any anthropologist, it is quite contrary to the fieldwork experience of many, perhaps most of them. At least the "homogeneity of primitive personality" theory can to some extent be checked against a type of material which is possessed by every fieldworker, including the many anthropologists whose interests are not and never were in that rather esoteric branch called "personality and culture." The type of material to which reference is made is that unsystematic, very random, often implicit, but very necessary knowledge of numerous individuals in the culture which he is studying, which every fieldworker has to possess to operate at all. Just as no faculty member can operate very effectively on his committees, or for that matter in his poker games, without some working knowledge of the personalities of his colleagues, so no fieldworker can operate with much success in the field without some similar knowledge of which individuals among the natives are reliable informants, which are liars or bluffers, which panic easily or clam up easily, who is scared of whom and who beholden to whom, who are the leaders and who the yes-men among the native cliques, and innumerable other like pieces of knowledge. Such pragmatic knowledge of individual differences is not only necessary for good research, it is essential for the anthropologist's own safety and comfort (or relative comfort) in the usually primitive and sometimes dangerous environment in which he finds himself. In an African setting, for instance, it may involve the knowledge of who is a reliable man to go lion hunting with; in areas where the lending of firearms or the giving of liquor to natives may lead to trouble with the white authorities it involves evaluation of reliability or trustworthiness of another kind; in most areas where difficult treks, journeys, canoe trips, etc. are required, every fieldworker uses such knowledge in his choice of which natives to take along or whom to go along with. Such routine operations as these as well as the selection of personal attendants, whose house to live in, the discounting of information from some individuals and the high valuation of information from some others,

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all these day-to-day activities of ordinary elementary field work, are, one presumes, based upon some common-sense judgments about the "personalities" of the natives with whom the anthropologist is living in rather intimate association.

Unfortunately the conventions of anthropology are such that it is just this sort of material which is never published and yet it would seem to be precisely this sort of material, if organized and systematized a little, which would throw light upon the amount of individual personality variation and the *range of* personality types which are to be found in the simpler societies. Too often the old-fashioned anthropologist, asked what he knows about the "personality" of his tribe, is apt to reply rather defensively, "Well, nothing much; you see I didn't pay much attention to toilet training when I was there, nor was I competent to give Rorschachs and T.A.T.'s." If, instead of being intimidated by the question, he would take the trouble to recall the ten natives he knew best (in the sense of knowing that is involved in the everyday statement "I know him pretty well") and attempt to describe briefly the "personality" of each of the ten, he would, one suspects, be astonished not only at how much common-sense knowledge he has of the personalities of the men he is describing but also at the range of difference that they exhibit.

As a crude sample of what would be revealed if the ordinary fieldworking anthropologist would make some attempt at "personality description" along such lines, there is offered in this paper a very superficial and cursory examination of the "personalities"[1] of five Australian aborigines whom the writer believes (perhaps erroneously) he got to know reasonably well *as people*, in the course of field work among the tribe to which they belonged—the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands, North Australia. One cannot live with any tribe for two years, especially in the very primitive and intimate living conditions of nomadic Australian life, without getting to know certain individuals better than others, and two of the five men in question were not only trusted informants and advisers but also twenty-four-hour-a-day companions for weeks at a time. The basis of selection of these two, Mariano and Tipperary, is that the writer knew them over a long period of time and was able to observe them under a great variety of circumstances.[2] The addition of the other three—Antonio, Louis and Bob—is suggested by the fact that they were brothers or half-brothers of the first two, all five having a common mother, a woman named Bongdadu. The selection of a group of brothers for intensive study is justified in the present context by the self-evident fact that if, as is alleged by the personality and culture adherents, a common culture, with common toilet training, common family conditioning, etc., produces homogeneous personalities in the simpler societies, then such homogeneity of personality should be all the greater in a group of men who not only are products of the same culture but grew up in the same household, and were suckled, reared and toilet-trained by the same mother.

The Tiwi, who numbered 1,262 people in 1928–30, are divided into nine hordes or subtribes scattered over two islands. The southern section of Bathurst

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The southern section of

Island (Hart 1930) is inhabited by a subtribe called the Tikiauila. In 1911 a Roman Catholic Mission station was established at the southeast tip of Bathurst Island, virtually in Tikiauila territory, and at the time of the present writer's field work this was the only white settlement. In the generation before the missionaries arrived the "big man" among the Tikiauila was Turimpi. Because of their complicated marriage and inheritance regulations the average Tiwi old man in the course of his lifetime accumulates an impressive number of wives and Turimpi was no exception to this rule. At the time of his death, which occurred toward the end of the 1890's at an age which was probably something approaching 70, Turimpi counted as his wives then living or pre-deceasing him no less than 25 females. Of these the only one we need to pay any attention to is the woman named Bongdadu. She, while Turimpi's wife, had borne numerous children, of whom three males grew to manhood—Antonio, born in approximately 1883, Mariano born three or four years later, and Louis born around 1893. Sometime between 1895 and 1900 she was widowed by the death of Turimpi, whereupon she married another elderly man, Murikambunga, to whom she bore two more sons—Tipperary, born around 1900, and Bob born about a year later. Bongdadu of course had numerous other children who did not survive childhood.[3] It is her five adult sons who concern us here.

Turimpi, as the number of wives suggests, was an important tribal figure during his lifetime. Importance, prestige, tendency to be spoken of as a "big man" are in Tiwi functions of a number of factors in which age, number of wives, fighting ability, wisdom in council, and "family" in the sense of having relatives who are also "big men," are all compounded. On all these counts Turimpi was important, and his prestige tended to carry on after his death. Since the horde or subtribe is a comparatively small group, ranging in size from 214 for the Tikiauila (the biggest) to 57 for the Mingwila (the smallest), there will seldom be more than two or three "big men" in a subtribe at the same time, and at certain periods there may be none at all since the few old men who have the age qualification may not have the other qualifications. Turimpi's death left the Tikiauila to some extent in this state. There were few other men with comparable seniority and none of them had the qualifications for informal leadership and local prestige that he had possessed. His death left a gap, and a gap that could hardly be filled by his eldest son Antonio, who at the time of his father's death was a youth of about 16 years of age. About thirty years later, in 1928 to 1930, the field work upon which the present paper is based was carried out.

ANTONIO

It so happened that the present writer had been with the Tiwi for nearly three months before he met Antonio, although during those three months he had been closely associated with two of his brothers, Mariano and Tipperary. These two gave Antonio a great build-up as one of the most important men around, as a "big man" in every possible Tiwi sense. But when encountered in person he proved most disappointing. The only words that fitted Antonio

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were words like "insecure" and "uneasy." He was not particularly aggressive nor particularly submissive, but he fluctuated between the two attitudes. One got the impression after associating with him that he was never sure of what was expected of him and acted therefore in contradictory ways according to what *he thought* was expected of him. Or to put the same impression another way, there seemed a constant discrepancy between what people expected of Antonio and what he wanted to do if left alone. In tribal fights, for instance, he acted fiercely and aggressively and with the air of swaggering braggadocio that all important men are expected to show in fighting, yet at the earliest possible moment he melted into the crowd with visible relief at being able to quit the center of the stage and without a trace of rancor or ill will toward any of the people whom he had been abusing or had been abused by a few minutes before. In council meetings of senior men he was always listened to with respect yet always had to be prodded into speaking at all. He never initiated a policy or offered his opinion until pressure was put upon him to state what he thought, and while his opinion when given was listened to with attention it was always a paraphrase of some opinion already given, usually the majority opinion of the group. He expressed what he thought the group wanted him to say, never an "opinion of his own." In this respect Antonio had many of the characteristics of a "yes-man" and like his counterparts in more civilized societies he seldom took the unpopular side and seldom stood up to opposition.

Two burning political issues agitating the Tiwi in 1928–30 were the issues of (1) plural marriage and (2) the visits of the Japanese pearling luggers. The Catholic missionaries had taken a strong stand on plural marriages and were bringing all the economic and moral pressure they could exert on the younger Tiwi to induce them to restrict themselves to one wife. Failure to bow to Mission pressure resulted in the recalcitrant's being cut off from the European food, tobacco, clothes, etc. which could only be obtained through the Mission. But beginning in the middle 1920's Japanese pearling boats in ever increasing numbers had carried on the practice of anchoring on the further side of Melville Island during the period of high tide (when diving for pearl shell was impossible) and inviting the natives to provide their women as prostitutes for the use of the crews during their stay on the beaches. The Japanese captains paid lavishly in European goods for any women thus provided and the subtribes on the southeast side of Melville, in particular the subtribe called the Yeimpi, proved very susceptible to the Japanese temptations.

These two issues of plural marriage and prostitution for the Japanese rather neatly complemented each other at two points. Not only did the Japanese rival the Mission station as a source of supply for European goods; the possession of a large number of wives was a condition that made a man very unpopular with the missionaries, but, if he were disposed to rent out some of them, made the same man very popular with the Japanese. The plural marriage issue, if alone, would clearly have divided the tribe into the conservatives, staunchly upholding plural marriage as the Tiwi way, and the radicals abandoning it in return for Mission favor. But such an alignment was cut right across

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by the Japanese issue, since it tempted the conservative with several wives to violate all the old tribal sanctions by renting out his wives, and it provided the Mission adherent radicals with a grand opportunity to pose as the real defenders of the old culture and to charge the old polygamists with being the real renegades from the ancient ways.

It can be easily guessed how high feelings ran on these issues and how hotly they were debated when a number of Tiwi gathered together. But on neither of these issues or on any aspect of them did Antonio show any signs of leadership. He accumulated wives but always apologized in a rather deprecating and apple-polishing way when he met the missionaries, and spent part of his time hanging around the Mission despite the contemptuous attitude which the missionaries adopted toward him. He thus contrasted very unfavorably with some of his contemporaries, notably one Dooley who, having been for years a one-wife man and a Mission favorite, inherited a second wife at around the age of forty. Dooley's decision was clear-cut and highly spectacular. He accepted the second wife, shook the dust of the Mission station from his feet and never set foot near it again, taking up again the traditional life of a Tiwi elder, deep in the bush, with his two wives and later additions, ignoring all white innovations, even tobacco.[4] Dooley's uncompromising behavior was greatly admired by the tribe but few had the strength of character to emulate him, certainly not Antonio.

On the Japanese issue Antonio was just as vacillating. Prodded by others to make a statement he would in ringing tones denounce as disgraceful and scandalous the behavior of the Yelmpi wife-renters, but on his visits to the Yelmpi country ostensibly "to see for himself what was going on" he shared eagerly in the proceeds of vice which his friends there offered him and was even heard on a few occasions to wonder aloud why the Japanese always went to the Yelmpi country when there were plenty of secluded beaches in Tiklauila country. Instantly challenged, "Would you want the Japanese to come here?" "Would you rent your wives to them if they did?" poor Antonio quickly turned it into a feeble joke, saying deprecatingly, "Oh no, no, no. I just wondered why they always go to those ugly Yelmpi women?"

In summary we might say that Antonio's personal behavior appeared to be that of a man pushed into a position rather too big for him to fill. He was not by nature particularly aggressive or domineering, but as the oldest son of Turimpi he was constantly being pushed by public opinion onto the center of the stage, whereas he would have been much happier if public opinion had left him alone to be an ordinary, average member of the crowd. The role he was called on by his status position to play seemed to give him little or no pleasure, little or no personal satisfaction. Such a view of his "personality" is supported by the fact that when alone in the bush with his own family and away from the society of his peers Antonio was relaxed and at ease. As Durkheim pointed out, the basic factor in Australian social psychology is that men spend a great part of their lives hunting and collecting in the bush, completely out of physical contact with all people except members of their own households,

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usually wives and children only, but this life lived in an isolated household is broken in upon at intervals by short interludes of the "collective life," when members of numbers of households gather together for ceremonies, legal proceedings, fights and initiations. If we may call these two types of living the public life and the private life of the adult male Australian, then we may say that Antonio was very happy in private life and uncomfortable in public life. The two activities which made him happiest were playing with his children and hunting with his dogs. When left alone by society to do those two things Antonio was a kindly, patient, gentle, good-natured and relaxed man, but in all social relations with other adult men he was nervous and uncertain of himself. One might hazard the opinion that it was because children and dogs made no great demands upon him that he was happy and at ease with them, but people he found very trying since they were always expecting him to "take a stand" or to make a decision and this was something he had no talent for, something which did not "come naturally" to him, and something which gave him no satisfaction. Turimpi's mantle had fallen on a man who just wanted the world to let him alone, who preferred his home, his family and his dogs to any rewards which public life could give him.

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MARIANO

Mariano was first encountered in Port Darwin before the writer had got to the Tiwi. Finding me waiting for transportation to the islands, Mariano offered to come with me and act as my chief interpreter and informant. As he appeared a very intelligent and mature member of the tribe, I promptly hired him. Or so I thought at the time. Events were to prove that what had happened was that Mariano had appropriated me. For Mariano was (in his own opinion, at least) the only possible person fit to escort and advise a white man visiting the Tiwi. He had created something of a monopoly in the job of white man's escort and adviser. The beginning of this not unusual native profession went back, in his case, to the foundation of the Mission station. When the missionaries arrived in 1911 and began to build their mission houses Mariano became almost immediately the principal go-between of Mission and natives. As far as the situation of 1911 can now be reconstructed the factors operating to select Mariano for this position were merely suitability of social status, availability and willingness to undertake it. As already mentioned, the Mission was established at the southeast tip of Bathurst Island. This was Tiklauila territory and at that time the dominant family among the Tiklauila was that of Turimpi. Of Turimpi's sons, Antonio, the eldest, was about 28 or 29, Mariano was about 25 and Louis, the third son, was a youth not yet 20. Antonio's role as eldest son was already fixed, Mariano's, as second son, was still flexible. Antonio was personally unaggressive except when forced into taking a strong stand, Mariano (we may speculate) was already more forceful and more prone to draw attention to himself by aggressive behavior.[8] Mariano was just ready in 1911 to emerge from the age group of young men who should, according to Tiwi ideas, be seen and not heard into the age group of "junior adult men" who

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have some slight voice in tribal affairs. Antonio had already emerged into this latter group and therefore was already committed to the old way of things to an extent that Mariano was not. This line of reasoning will explain at least why Mariano was chosen rather than Antonio. Louis, on the other hand, was still a boy indistinguishable among the group of 18 year olds.

Students of social organization in small societies are aware that in such societies the status requirements for certain positions are frequently such that often only a very few individuals, sometimes only one individual, are actually available to fill the positions. A similar narrow range of potential holders also pertains, it would seem, to statuses not known to the native culture but thrown up, as it were, by the demands of the culture-contact situation, as in the present case by the arrival of the Mission. What the missionaries needed among the natives was a spokesman for them (a) who had some influence, and influence in Tiwi is a combination of age, family prestige and personal forcefulness; (b) who was a local man in the district in which the Mission was built; (c) who was young enough to be flexible in his actions and thinking and therefore capable of being influenced by them; (d) who was not yet so committed to tribal mores (plural wives, strict observance of taboos, etc.) that once trusted by the Mission and identified in the native mind as a Mission-supporter he would be likely to embarrass the Mission by backsliding; and (e) who was willing to take on the job. They found their man in Mariano. A careful review of all the other possible candidates as they existed in 1911 fails to reveal any other man who had so many of the above desiderata. Dooley had many, but was a person of no family, certainly not a son of Turimpi.

In the early days of the Mission Mariano thus became its main spokesman among the tribe and the most trusted interpreter for and adviser of the priests. By 1928 he to some extent still occupied this position. But by then the Mission had had seventeen years in which to build up wider contacts and find other spokesmen, and its needs were no longer the same needs as in its pioneer days. Moreover, not only had the Mission matured in those seventeen years but so had Mariano. At the age of 42 or so, he was now a man of influence and prestige in the tribe but, like many better-known leaders of men in other societies, he was inclined toward an aggressive, bumptious self-importance and an exaggerated belief in his own indispensability. He had therefore become rather a trial to the missionaries (and to all the other white men to whom he had attached himself). The result was a continued series of quarrels between him and the Mission, which usually ended with Mariano, in a rage, storming off either to the bush or Port Darwin. In Port Darwin he characteristically worked for only the more important whites, senior government officials or at the hospital, until his anger had cooled sufficiently for him to return, self-contained, dignified, completely humorless and rather pompous, to ascertain whether the missionaries realized how foolish they had been to quarrel with him. If they had not, then he simply quit the Mission and waited for the arrival of some white visitor who needed a native sponsor. He thus acquired a greater knowledge of white ways than most of the Tiwi and as a result no doubt of his op-

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portunities for cultural comparison he at the same time acquired an acute insight into his own culture and into the psychology of his fellow tribesmen. For the anthropologist he was a magnificent informant and a continuous pain in the neck. As increasing years gave him increasing tribal seniority, Mariano became increasingly domineering and touchy about his own importance and increasingly recognised by the younger men as the man who voiced the "pro-mission" and hence "pro-white" point of view in tribal arguments. However, it would be a mistake to think of him as the "detribalized" native of the literature (as another Benelong, e.g., in the magnificent study of culture contact given by the Australian novelist Eleanor Dark, 1941). On the contrary the tough old unacculturated natives who lived deep in the bush and who tried to act much of the time as if white men didn't exist not only accepted Mariano but respected him and paid deep attention to his arguments. The reasons why they did this are, I think, all considerations of "personality," that is, they respected Mariano despite his collaboration with the Mission largely because Mariano was the kind of man he was. He was forceful and determined; he was sincere, he was consistent both in word and in deed, he was intelligent and knew both the psychology of his audience and how to marshal his arguments so as to obtain maximum impact from his material. And he had supreme confidence in his own righteousness. Time and again one was struck by the contrast between him and his elder brother Antonio. When Antonio spoke (always after being prompted or coerced into giving his opinion), people listened hoping to hear wisdom and force and cogency; instead they heard only hackneyed phrases and inconsistent arguments which left them dissatisfied and unconvinced. When Mariano spoke (always without invitation and frequently ahead of many of his seniors), he laid down, in vehement tones, a definite policy, and even though his policy was unacceptable to his hearers as it frequently was, they listened with close attention and voiced their approval at the end, not so much of the policy he outlined as the directness and clearness of the delivery and the logic of his position.

The difference between the two men is well illustrated by their attitudes toward the Japanese wife-renting on the Yeimpi beaches. On this, the burning issue of the day, Antonio never took a stand but shilly-shallied on all sides of it, despite the fact—frequently drawn to his attention—that his small daughter was betrothed to an old Yeimpi who was a notorious wife-renter and he, therefore, in a very short time would be faced with the decision of whether to hand the girl over to her promised husband or not. Mariano on the contrary seized upon the Japanese issue from its first appearance as proof of the essential soundness of the Mission campaign against plural marriages. His speeches were clear-cut and definite. "It all goes to show that the priests are right when they say that having a lot of wives is a bad thing. These old Yeimpi have too many wives. If they had only one each, like white men (and inferentially like Mariano himself), they would not be doing this disgusting thing of renting out their wives to Japanese, they would want to keep their one wife to themselves like decent Tiwi." Most of his hearers (a) considered themselves decent Tiwi, but

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(b) had each a number of wives at home, (c) had not rented any to the Japanese as yet (mainly because of lack of opportunity), but (d) were all suspecting each other of contemplating an early trip to the Yelmpi country and therefore were in chronic indecision on the whole matter. Hence Mariano's arguments were greeted with the applause that any group of people caught among a complicated set of moral alternatives will give to one of their number who has solved for himself the conflicts that beset them and has solved them moreover in a way perfectly consistent with all his previous attitudes. It was the applause and approval that is expressed in our culture by some such phrase as "I may not agree with him but at least he is sincere and you always know where he stands."

But like similar people elsewhere Mariano inspired no close intimate loyalty. Nobody felt warmly toward him. The missionaries used him but didn't like him, the anthropologist found him invaluable as an informant but intensely irritating in his self-importance and his belief in his own indispensability; among the natives he had no intimates and no close friends. His relations with his wife were much more formal and distant than was usual among monogamous couples and she frequently criticized him both in public and in private for what she called his "failure to talk to her"—undoubtedly the Tiwi equivalent of the American wife's complaint against her husband's absorption in business or politics. He was fond of his children but played with them little and then in a silent, brooding sort of way, confining his caresses to tickling and squeezing them, unlike Antonio whose play with his children was always carried on in an endless flow of chatter and two-way conversations. Child-talk, one surmises, was beneath Mariano's dignity.

All in all, Mariano was a forceful, domineering, self-important, introverted man, pursuing his dedicated way as the leader of a cause—collaboration with and imitation of the whites—but having personality traits which prevented him from inspiring any of the affection or warm devotion that other types of leaders inspire. There were many Tiwi, especially among the younger men, who were ready and willing to adopt at least the easier aspects of white culture such as clothes, work in Darwin, disrespect for tribal laws, violation of taboos, but in no sense can they be described as Mariano's followers, still less his admirers. Everyone respected Mariano, everybody consulted him, everybody made use of him and listened to him, but nobody warmed to him. He was as sound, as domineering, as aggressive, as humorless, as dedicated, as admirable as one of the Old Testament prophets—and just as difficult to like.

LOUIS

Of the five sons of Turimpi, it may be that the two who were most similar in whatever it is that is called personality were the second and third sons, Mariano and Louis. Both were "lonely ones," both had about them a kind of glooming, inward-focused aura which inhibited warm friendly relations with others. Among a people to whom laughter and gaiety come easily, both were completely devoid of humor. Both were men dedicated to a cause, but in the

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nature of the cause they diverged sharply. The same single-minded concentration which Mariano devoted to the cultivation of white men, Louis devoted to his sexual activities. Whether two men devoting most of their time one to preaching acculturation, the other to seduction, can be said to have a common basic personality, is a question best left to the personality experts; but at least to the superficial observer there was something vaguely similar in the grim and humorless way in which Louis pursued other men's wives and the way in which Mariano carried on his acculturation campaign.

Sexual irregularities are difficult data upon which to obtain accurate information in any culture. When, therefore, Louis is described as an habitual and constant seducer, no claim is made that he was actually as successful in this line of endeavor as tribal opinion maintained. All that we can be sure of is that Louis had an exalted reputation of this sort and he had it in a tribe where a number of circumstances combine to make seduction almost as easy and almost as common as eating or drinking. The seduction situation is largely the result of the marriage customs of the Tiwi which have the effect of forcing most men to remain bachelors until well into their thirties while concentrating all wives, old and young, in the hands of the older men. This means that the older a man gets the more wives he accumulates, and it would appear that the more he accumulates the more suspicious he becomes that some of them (probably the younger and more physically attractive ones) are being unfaithful to him. These suspicions are accentuated by (a) the way in which the day-to-day food gathering activities of the women are necessarily carried out—the women are widely dispersed through the bush, often working singly, well out of sight and hearing of each other; (b) the fact that young unmarried men are frequently hunting (or pretending to hunt) alone in the same general area of country as that in which an old man's numerous wives are gathering wild foods; and (c) the character of the vegetation in large sections of the Tiwi country, great stretches of it being just open enough to make it easy for native eyes to see somebody slipping through the trees, but just thick enough to make it difficult for them to be sure of identities at any distance.[6]

In such an atmosphere it is rare for any bachelor to live for more than a few months at most without having to face an accusation by some old man that he has been taking liberties with one of the latter's wives, and it is even rarer for an old man with a number of young wives not to have reason to suspect most or all of them of having been unfaithful to him several times at least in the course of a year. But in this setting of daily[7] seduction Louis' reputation was outstanding. In the period with which we are dealing here he had been suspected and publicly accused of adultery with almost every possible woman for miles around. His demeanor when accused by the outraged husbands was characteristic. Whereas other seducers denied the charge and asserted their essential purity, or tried to laugh it off as silly rumor ("Why, I don't even know the woman"), or alibied themselves and accused other men ("I wasn't even hunting in that direction that day, it must have been so-and-so, he was following a kangaroo down that way at the time in question"), or sometimes even

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admitted the charge along the age-old line of "the woman tempted me," Louis always faced his accusers silently, sullenly, almost disinterestedly. He never excused himself, never alibied. On the other hand he never gloried in or boasted of his sexual exploits, he merely gave the impression that he was completely disinterested in the whole procedure of argument and punishment and wanted to get it over with as quickly as possible. It was very evident that, despite his sexual reputation, he was not invested with any glamour nor did he excite any hero-worship on the part of the younger men. The role of Don Juan in some cultures can presumably be a role that leads to a successful seducer's being envied and even to some extent hero-worshipped by the young bloods, but this seems quite absent as a cultural possibility in Tiwi values. Successful young seducers never act publicly as if they were proud of themselves nor in any way show off or assume a "look how clever I am" manner. Absence of such behavior was very noticeable in others besides Louis, and certainly he never acted in such a way, despite his obvious suitability for such a role were it culturally available.

In camp and during the periods of the collective life he was silent, gloomy and dour, frequently irritable, unfriendly and hostile to everybody. He was too young, in Tiwi terms, to rate a wife, but the policy of the Mission to discourage plural marriages had as its positive correlate the promotion of marriages for the wifeless young men and Louis was one of those who had obtained a wife through Mission manipulations. She died after a beating which Louis in one of his frequent fits of anger had administered to her, and while the natives never said so openly, they clearly agreed with the Mission's charges that Louis had murdered his wife. Thus accused to his face by the Mission, Louis shrugged his shoulders in his normal, indifferent way. In council he seldom spoke and what he said carried no weight. This, of course, may well have been due to his age as in Tiwi terms Louis at 31 or 32 was still a young man who should keep silent in the presence of his seniors. But it was very noticeable that even in the quick informal conferences between members of a party on the march involving such petty decisions as whether to camp at this waterhole or try and make the next one before nightfall, or in similar minor decision-making, Louis took no part. He listened silently to the debate, was very quick to foresee correctly what the decision was going to be as was evidenced by his starting off again by himself before the main party had realized where the consensus lay, but he apparently felt no urge to express aloud his own views on the issue. His actions showed that in his private analysis of the situation he was way ahead of most of the debaters but apparently his personal satisfactions came from correct anticipation of majority decision rather than from any desire to participate himself in decision-making. The same ability to listen, analyse what he heard, to act upon his own analysis but never to intervene actively was very noticeable in Louis' reaction to the accusations against him by the outraged husbands. An outraged husband usually begins his charges late at night when the camps are quiet. At such a time he begins to yell his accusations through the darkness at the top of his voice, naming the seducer,

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the wife concerned, the time and place where the event occurred, how sure he is of the truth of his accusations, what he intends to do about it, all this interspersed with insults and abuse of the young man involved. The effectiveness of this type of midnight harangue depends largely upon the offender's being within earshot, since there is not much point in abusing an absentee. The accused almost invariably reacts by shouting back denials. But this was not Louis' way. He remained silent until the ranting old man was forced to pause and ask rather feebly of the darkness, "What's the matter with him? Why doesn't he answer? Is he asleep?" Whereupon from Louis' campfire would come a quiet, "No, *I* hear you," and very little else. The husbands found this most frustrating, a situation somewhat analogous to the schoolboy situation of our culture expressed in some such phrase as "You can't ever get him to bite."

In addition to this great self-control and his undoubtedly keen intelligence, Louis was a formidable fighting man, the toughest, strongest and most dangerous in battle of all Turimpi's sons. But when he fought, he fought alone. He led no factions and commanded the loyalty of no clique. He was in all things a lone wolf, apparently wanting no friends and seeking to influence no man. These personality traits probably stood him in good stead in his amorous career, though whether that career was the result of possession of such traits, or whether the traits were developed by the requirements of the career is an open question. Certainly, under Tiwi conditions, a person like Louis was peculiarly suited for an amorous reputation, since noisiness and chattersomeness during amours increase the chance of discovery, and close intimate friends are always liable to gossip. Solitary, reserved, intelligent and determined, master of his own fate and accepting the responsibility for his own actions, but saying practically nothing, Louis, one suspects, was the type of man who would have a successful career in whatever line of activity he concentrated upon, and in any culture in the world a man like Louis if he concentrates on sex will be a constant source of uneasiness and suspicion to husbands. He will always get what he goes after.

TIPPERARY

The three oldest sons—Antonio, Mariano and Louis—were over 30 at the time of observation. The two youngest, Tipperary and Bob, were just approaching thirty. Bob, as we shall see later, was definitely lacking in color and definiteness. Louis, as we have pointed out, was a silent, antisocial type of man. It might be inferred from these two facts, especially by those familiar with the increasing importance and prestige that age, *per se*, brings in Australian social life, that all the younger men were rather restrained and unemphasised in personality characteristics just because they were young. Such a view is, I think, contradicted by the fact that Louis, while silent and noninitiatory, was nevertheless far from colorless. Even though he seldom spoke to draw attention to himself people, both men and women, were always well aware of him when he was around. It is also contradicted by the personality of Tipperary.

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Tip, and every white man who came in contact with him immediately shortened his name to the obvious diminutive form, was a person whose whole life was devoted to laughter. No English word fits him so well as the word "gay." This gaiety was not clownishness or buffoonery nor did it contain any element of malice or desire to hurt others; it was simply an enormous sense of fun. The other four brothers were in their different ways rather taut and tense personalities, or at least three were and Antonio was when away from home. Tip alone of the five brothers was always completely relaxed and unself-conscious. He was always looking on the bright side, always trying to banish tension and worry with a quip or a wisecrack, always making a joke. His favorite sentence opening was "Perhaps." On one occasion a camp I was in was badly scared by a ghost appearing in the middle of the night in the midst of the camp fires. Everybody, anthropologist included, huddled around their fires, not daring to look and yet unable to abstain from furtive peeps. Finally the apparition seemed to have gone and there were low whispers from various firesides of, "Has it gone?—I think it's gone—it doesn't seem to be there now." "Perhaps it's gone to Port Darwin to see a movie," said Tip, loudly, and immediately the tension was broken and the whole camp shouted with laughter. On another occasion a group of natives who were escorting an elderly and venerable French priest through the bush, were chased by a herd of wild buffalo[8] and forced to take refuge in the nearby trees. The buffalo pawed and snorted under the trees and a discussion took place as to how to frighten them away. Shouting, swearing and throwing sticks failed to frighten them off. "Perhaps, Father," said Tip, convulsed with laughter at the whole proceeding and addressing the priest, "perhaps they would go away if you cursed at them in the Church language [i.e., Latin]."

There are several important things to notice about Tip's humor. One is that much of the time he used it as a means of initiating action, as in the ghost incident where he took the lead over several senior men in dissolving the tension, or in the Warner incident,[9] where the initiating suggestion to play a very old and hackneyed joke came from him. In a culture that looked with disfavor on young men speaking out of turn, Tip was always speaking out of turn, but because such speaking was always in a joking form, few if any natives recognized it as being out of turn. From certain points of view we might say that Tip had found, through his gaiety, a tool which he used to make his presence felt without exciting social disapproval because of his lack of age. But that statement makes the whole matter sound far too conscious and deliberate. Again we face a constantly recurring problem—how much of "personality" is status-dictated and how much "natural"? Will increasing years and dignity cause Tip to cease laughing at life and its problems? There seem at least two grounds for strongly doubting it. One is the admittedly subjective but strongly held view that Tip didn't laugh and joke and come out with his incongruous "perhaps" to achieve effect or as a means to the end of social recognition, but because he genuinely and naturally enjoyed his own humor. Too many nights have I dozed off to sleep listening to Tip gurgling with sup-

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pressed laughter on the other side of the fire as he recalled to himself the amusing incidents of the day. Even when alone with his thoughts he was still laughing. This suggests that Tip's gaiety was "natural" rather than contrived for effect, and there is support for the suggestion in the fact that Tip was regarded as a poor hunter, because, as one critic put it, "He doesn't concentrate on killing the kangaroo but plays jokes on the kangaroo and makes a game out of hunting." Another indication that when alone he behaved in the same irresponsible manner that he exhibited in public.

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The second ground that suggests that fun-loving and gaiety are not incompatible with increasing age and tribal status is the fact that there were many old and venerable Tiwi who loved fun and laughter just as Tipperary did. One such was Tu'untalumi, one of the most elderly of the Tiklauila, a man of weight, dignity and poise. He was a highly respected person, an expert in ceremonial performances and a rigid traditionalist in all things. But despite his age and dignity this man was as given to fun and laughter as Tip was. The main difference was that Tip's laughter was loud, boisterous and prankish; Tu'untalumi's jokes and quips were delivered in low, gentle tones and his laughter was dignified and restrained. But within the limitations imposed by his status he got as much fun and extracted as much humor out of life as Tip, illustrating the point that age and seniority in Tiwi do not at all necessarily mean sourness and lack of humor. Although the two were not related Tipperary played up to the old man and courted and valued his approval while Tu'untalumi clearly liked having Tip around him. They were kindred souls but separated by more than forty years of age.

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As is probably the case in most cultures, so among the Tiwi—the genuinely gay person is popular. Tipperary though the next to youngest of Turimpi's sons was the one with most friends. Perhaps significantly, his friends were among both his seniors and juniors, but not among his brothers. Antonio was the only brother who sought Tip's company and this can be accounted for either by the fact that Antonio, when not harassed by his status, was an easy-going, friendly and none too intelligent man who laughed readily even when none too sure of what the joke was, or that he found Tip's company a relaxation from the cares of state. Of the other brothers, the self-righteous and puritanical Mariano considered Tip frivolous and deplored (or was jealous of) the tendency of white men to become fond of him. Louis actively disliked Tip perhaps because his love affairs were an obvious target for some of Tip's better quips. "Perhaps he is going into the bush to take a nap" was one of his comments when he saw Louis disappearing among the trees. With his full brother Bob, Tip had few close ties, perhaps because Bob spent much of his time in Darwin, but even more likely, one suspects, because Bob, an indefinite and colorless youngster, shrank from attracting public notice, whereas Tip was always drawing attention to himself, with the result that Bob to save himself embarrassment avoided his company.

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Outside his siblings, Tipperary's gaiety earned him the liking and companionship of the younger men and made him a favorite younger man of some

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of the oldest and most respected seniors, particularly of Tu'untalumi and those swayed by his opinion. It follows from this that Tip though given to jokes and pranks cannot be written off as merely a privileged buffoon. On the contrary his wit and gaiety earned him friends and his friends gave him influence out of proportion to his youth. Some insight into this is supplied by the shadow of the ubiquitous Louis. Tipperary, through the missionaries' efforts on behalf of monogamy, had obtained a wife at a much earlier age than would have been possible under pre-white conditions, and according to the women, who have their own sources of information about such things, Louis was strongly attracted by Tipperary's wife. Since Louis was not noted for restraint or self-discipline in these matters the obvious question was why he did not press his attention on her as he had done on numerous other women, including the wife of Tip's younger brother Bob. "Oh no, he doesn't dare chase after Tipperary's wife. The old men would be very angry if he did anything to her," was the reply of the old hags who were the local gossip columnists. This belief that the "old men" would undoubtedly protect Tip's wife while they had noticeably failed to protect Bob's wife from a similar threat (see below) is a pretty clear indication that the two young men had very different places in tribal estimation—a fact that in turn can be correlated with no status differential between them and leaves only the "personality" difference between the two men to account for it. Tip was popular with the control groups, Bob was not, therefore the control groups would support Tip because they liked him. They were indifferent toward Bob.[10]

To summarize Tipperary is relatively easy. He was a cheery, relaxed, fun-loving young man who enjoyed his own humor but enjoyed it all the more if it were shared by an appreciative audience. He was therefore gregarious, friendly, outgoing and extroverted. He would have been a good Rotarian or a better disk-jockey. Because of these traits he was noticed a great deal more by his elders than his age justified and the notice he received was usually favorable. He was popular in a way none of his brothers were, and because of this popularity was able to express opinions and exert influence to an extent unusual for one of his years. In a society where men under 30 are expected to be seen and not heard, Tip was constantly being heard. This was only possible because his natural gaiety and warmth prejudiced almost everybody in his favor. He was the sort of man about whom it is often said in our culture "he always makes a party go," or, "he is the sort of person who just naturally makes friends."

BOB

The youngest brother, Bob, needs only two words to describe him—complete nonentity. About 27 or 28 when I knew him and, because of the Mission's efforts, married a good deal younger than he would have been under pre-white conditions, Bob, whatever the occasion or circumstances, was always part of the background. Like many of the younger Tiwi he was inclined to spend part of each year in Darwin working for the white men, and by them he was regarded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker.

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garded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker. The tribe thought of him in much the same way, the missionaries and anthropologist agreed with the estimate. Bob was essentially a "good boy." He never did anything wrong, never answered back, never spoke out of turn, never stepped out of line, never deviated from the behavior expected of him. He was, of course, too young in Tiwi categories to have any influence or importance. But it is hard to see how age could turn him into anything more positive than he was at 28, at which age he invited the comment that he had very little personality. About all that could be said is that he was a born follower and always tried to do the right thing, the right thing consisting in conforming to the expectations of whatever group he happened to be with at the moment. When with the tribe Bob did what the elders told him to do. If they disagreed among themselves, Bob waited until the majority decision was clear and then added his voice to the chorus of agreement. The same faithfulness which caused his white employers to label Bob "a good boy" caused the tribal elders to regard him as among the sounder of the young men, though they deplored his tendency to spend so much time in Darwin. But even on his trips to Darwin Bob did not depart too much from the norms for men of his age who had been children when the Mission came and who therefore constituted a post-white generation. He did not stay more than three or four months at a time in Darwin, he returned for all the steps of his initiation ceremonies, he observed his food and other taboos even when in Darwin, and during his sojourns there he never caused scandal back-home by getting into the slightest "trouble." He went to Darwin when the tribe could raise no valid objection to his going, he returned whenever his absence led to criticism. Bob was a barometer of which line offered the least resistance at any given time. His chief motivation seemed to be to escape public attention, to always be where he would attract the least notice.

The only occasion I ever saw Bob forced to emerge from the background and take the center of the stage was on one occasion when he returned from Darwin and was told by the local gossips that his wife had been unfaithful to him during his absence. The man involved was—not surprisingly—his brother Louis. This really put Bob on the spot. In pre-white days a youngster like Bob would not have had a wife, and therefore the situation of a man of Bob's tender years calling an older man to account for seducing his wife could not have arisen. The traditional pattern in seduction cases is for the husband, necessarily an older man, to accuse the alleged seducer, necessarily a young man and therefore a bachelor and a person of no importance, and demand vengeance on him. The accuser is, therefore, traditionally a man of weight and prestige and dignity, and carries on his case against the seducer with style and authority. The accused on the other hand, being young and a person of no importance, stands abashed, cowed and silent, looking guilty while the outraged husband showers him with tirades of abuse, followed finally by spears or throwing-sticks. In the case of Bob versus Louis the casting of these traditional roles was all wrong. Bob, overcome with embarrassment, did his best

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to give an imitation of an angry and indignant elder telling off an impertinent "young punk,"[11] but even to the Tiwi, the spectacle of the subservient and retiring Bob trying to overawe and browbeat the formidable and completely self-reliant Louis was such a perversion of the traditional pattern that it bordered on the farcical. As soon as it was over and the conventions were satisfied, Bob, pale and shaken by the unwonted initiative and aggressiveness he had been forced to display, hurried back to the oblivion of Darwin where no such demands were made on a good boy, and, presumably to ensure that he would not be forced to go through such an ordeal again, took the rather unusual step of taking his wife along with him this time.

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The above brief sketches convey perhaps some idea of the variation in personalities of the five brothers. Obviously no definite conclusions can be drawn from material of this sort. It is merely suggestive of possibilities for theory. What it seems to suggest is, however, at variance with the idea that personality is substantially uniform in the simpler societies. No attempt has been made in this paper to explore the full gamut of personal differences among the Tiwi. By adding half a dozen other individuals (including such as Tu'untalumi and Dooley, already briefly mentioned) to the five siblings we have discussed above, it would be easy to widen the number of "personality types" illustrated. By confining our attention to the sons of Turimpi we have avoided an arbitrary selection of contrasting individuals; the five men selected were chosen *not because* they were different *but because* they were brothers. How different they are in that vaguely defined thing called personality is largely a matter of opinion depending almost entirely upon what is regarded as a "personality" difference. All that we would here claim for them in the way of difference is that on any continuum for a single trait the five sons of Turimpi range themselves about as differentially as any five average men are likely to do in our culture. In aggressiveness, for example, Mariano is well toward one end of the range, Bob well toward the other; Tipperary, Louis and Antonio at different points in between. In decisiveness or decision-making, Mariano, Louis and Tipperary belong to the heavily positive side, Antonio and Bob on the heavily negative side. But if we couple with decisiveness the ability to win friends and influence people, Tipperary, the decisive and popular, must be sharply separated from Louis and Mariano, decisive but unpopular. The three aggressive dominating types differ markedly among themselves in what might be called interest in life or chief motivating force, Mariano expressing his need for dominance through political channels, Louis through sex, Tipperary through laughter and kidding. On an introvert-extrovert continuum, Louis the silent withdrawn lone-wolf has to be placed well toward the introvert pole, with Mariano not very far away from him, but with Tipperary the out-giving friendly "Rotarian" kidder at the other extreme, and Antonio well down toward Tipperary's end. These are of course just a few of the possible ranges along which the sons of Turimpi have to be located.

Whatever facet of behavior we seize on for comparison, we find these five

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men markedly different from one another. Nor does that obvious fact seem due in any way to the circumstance that the observations upon them were made in a post-white situation. The presence of the Mission, the arguments about polygyny, the lure of movies and white jobs in Port Darwin, the coming of the Japanese pearlers—such factors as these obviously influenced a great deal the *cultural* situation, but it is difficult to see how they can be held to account for Mariano's vehemence or Antonio's indecision or Tip's gaiety or Louis' amorousness. Such things as the Mission, the Japanese, Port Darwin, were vehicles for or occasions for Mariano's vehemence and Antonio's indecision and Tip's gaiety, but they certainly did not cause them. These men would, one presumes, have displayed those same temperamental traits through other and more "native" cultural vehicles if the whites and the Japanese had not been there. To argue otherwise, that is that such differences appear in the post-white situation but are absent under pre-white conditions, would seem to be a most blatant form of ethnocentricism.

It is equally ethnocentric, though in a different way, to argue that our culture, because of its alleged greater complexity, is able in some mysterious way to produce greater variations in personality traits than other and simpler cultures. What complexity of culture does is increase the number of cultural alternatives or socially acceptable behavior patterns; it cannot increase the number of attitudes which an individual will manifest while choosing a cultural alternative or following a socially acceptable pattern. An individual in any culture will follow a "cultural course" but he will follow it cheerfully or sourly, silently or garrulously, in a relaxed manner or a tense manner, like a leader or like a follower, with his eye on the gallery or regardless of the world's opinion. These alternatives would appear to be human alternatives, since they are ways in which all men respond to cultural stimuli. Since they are human variations they will be present where there are many cultural alternatives and where there are none. They will be present in closed social systems as much as in open social systems. When a man in any culture in the world is practising a cultural pattern, he will still differ from his neighbors —or his brothers —in the way he practises it. "It ain't the horrible things you do, but the horrible way you do 'em," are the words of an old joke which draws attention to the vital difference between the things which a culture requires its people to do and the attitudes with which different people proceed to do them. The five sons of Turimpi all followed Tiwi cultural patterns reasonably closely but as this paper has tried to demonstrate they were far indeed from being "stereotyped personalities." They differed not in what they did but in how they did it.

It follows therefore that since simplicity or complexity of culture is irrelevant to the whole matter, we should expect to find, in any culture in the world, a pretty similar range of variation in what must roughly be called "types of people." If the personality and culture literature is leading young anthropologists into the field expecting to find "stereotyped personalities" in the simpler cultures, they are doomed to disappointment. Years ago, Franz Boas (in a passage that is never quoted nowadays) told them what they *will* find. "Some

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theorists," says Boas, "assume a mental equipment of primitive man distinct from that of civilized man. I have never seen a person in primitive life to whom this theory would apply. There are slavish believers in the teachings of the past and there are scoffers and unbelievers; there are clear thinkers and muddle-headed bunglers; there are strong characters and there are weaklings" (1951). It is noteworthy that this (for Boas) unusually flat and definite statement was made in an attempt to demolish the views of Levy-Bruhl that between civilized man and the primitive there is an impassable psychological gap. Perhaps—as Tipperary would say, if he understood the matter—perhaps, the personality and culture movement is merely Levy-Bruhl in modern dress, perhaps the latent content of the movement is to deny to the people of the simpler cultures the ordinary elementary human qualities of individual difference and human variation, thereby enabling "personality" and "individuality" to be treated as unique creations of the white races to be found only among the followers of the American way of life. If this indeed be the latent content of much "personality and culture" literature, it seems to warrant a flat and unqualified rejection, in terms as emphatic as those of Boas, by all those anthropologists who, like Boas, may not know projective tests but do know something about the simpler native societies.

NOTES

[1] In view of the wide discrepancies in the use of the word "personality" it must be made clear again that all that is meant by the word here is the level of description one is apt to get if in ordinary social conversation one asks the question, "What sort of person is he?"

[2] The native names of these men are all polysyllabic and difficult for the reader to remember. I use therefore the names bestowed upon them by white men, to aid in keeping them distinctly in mind. The Spanish names, Antonio, etc., were bestowed by certain Filipino carpenters who built the building for the Roman Catholic missionaries when they first arrived. Tipperary is, of course, a white corruption of a native name.

[3] It will be noticed by close students of the above information that Turimpi must have been born in the 1830's, Bungkuta born somewhere around 1865. She had her first child when she was about 16 or 17, at which time her husband Turimpi was at least 30. This is a perfectly normal Tiwi marital situation, the commonest marriage arrangement being one in which a newly-born female child is betrothed by her father to a man in his thirties.

[4] Even from the anthropologist Dudley would not accept tobacco until he had convinced himself that in return he would not be required to sacrifice any of his principles. Nor would he take his son, to whom he was passionately attached, to the Mission station for medical treatment—perhaps the most striking proof of the uncompromising attitude that Dudley had adopted toward the Mission.

[5] Such a speculation about Mariano's personality at the age of 25, seventeen years before the author knew him, is based upon the general belief of social scientists that personality does not change much between 25 and 42, and the particular evidence of the older missionaries that Mariano was "already inclined to throw his weight around" when they first arrived.

[6] Goodenough (1949) is apparently one of the few anthropologists to discuss the relation between extra-marital sexual activity and the opportunities provided by the nature of the physical environment. The point here is slightly different; whether the Tiwi physical environment encourages adultery is uncertain since a social system such as theirs would promote adultery whatever the physical environment, but it certainly helps to increase the suspiciousness of husbands.

[7] That seduction has to be a daytime activity is implied in what has already been said. After sundown the women are concentrated in their husband's camp and have no opportunity. Which

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bonds to the situation—quite foreign to our way of thought and also apparently to that of Polynesian cultures—whereby a young bachelor can prowl around the bush all night without arousing the slightest interest but his daytime wanderings, ostensibly in search of game, are watched by his married seniors with the deepest suspicion.

[8] The buffalo, which are confined to Melville Island, are the wild descendants of domestic East Asian water buffalo which were imported during an early attempt at settlement.

[9] It is perhaps not without interest that one of Tip's jokes is imperishably preserved in the files of the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Tip was in Darwin in 1927 when W. Lloyd Warner was collecting at the Native Compound the anthropometric measurements which were afterwards analyzed by W. W. Howells (1937), and like all other natives in town from many tribes he and a number of Tiwi were measured by Warner. On the card for each subject Warner wished to record the personal name of the native. Led by Tip, all the Tiwi measured bestowed upon themselves the most obscene "native name" they could think of, and years later Tip would shout with laughter when telling how Warner faithfully recorded these obscenities, often repeating them several times to make sure of the correct pronunciation.

[10] This set of sentiments surrounding Tip's wife also gives a little more insight into the sex activities of Louis. His reluctance to move in on her, because of the way "the old men would feel," while showing no such reluctance to move in on Mrs. Bob, supports the view implied above that Louis, while sex dominated, was no fool in his amours. He had an intelligent and realistic appreciation of just how much he could get away with.

[11] I use this slang term deliberately, since it expresses somewhat the Tiwi attitude toward those young bachelors who go about seducing the wives of their elders and betters.

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